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Appendix C

Selected Statements by Soviet Leaders

Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU general secretary

● Question (U.S. ABC television correspondent): Mr. General Secretary, you hinted in your statement this morning that there were elements of political demagoguery in the U.S. reaction to your proposal on arms cuts. Do you mean President Reagan? If this is so, does it not contravene your statements to Time magazine that rhetoric should be softened during preparations for the Geneva meeting?

Mikhail Gorbachev: I want to reiterate everything I said in the interview to representatives of Time magazine. I would like to note right away that the remark I made was based on the information I had received. It would be, I think, irresponsible to create the impression that this is a propaganda shootout.

As for the position of Mr. Reagan, I was told this by Foreign Minister Shevardnadze--sensed on the part of the President and those who participated in the conversation, I mean Mr. Shultz, Mr. McFarlane, and others, a serious attitude toward our proposals. We hope that this will be really so. (Paris press conference, Pravda, 6 Oct 85)

● We are not declaring the United States an "evil empire." We know what the United States is, what the American people are, and their role in the world. We stand for a new, better stage in our relations. But if matters reach a qualitatively new stage of the arms race, which I have referred to, it will be much more difficult to solve such a task, if possible at all. . . .

You have also asked about my personal opinion of the President. I have not met with him and it is difficult for me to express my opinion of him in human terms. But in political terms we proceed from the premise that the President was elected by the American people, who are respected by our people, and we are prepared to do business with him. (Time magazine interview, Pravda, 2 Sep 85)

● American imperialism is at the forward edge of the war menace to mankind. U.S. policy is growing more bellicose in character and has become a constant negative factor in international relations, a factor we cannot ignore. The aggressive strivings of the ruling

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elite of that country are seen in the attempts to undermine the military-strategic balance, the basis of international security, in accelerating the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, and in the dangerous plans for the militarization of space. Barbarous doctrines and concepts for using nuclear weapons are being developed and hundreds of military bases and installations established on all continents. (Speech marking 40th anniversary of World War II, Soviet television, 8 May 85)

- Washington is gambling on force, making no secret of the fact. It is counting on superior force that would subordinate the rest of the world to the United States. Diplomacy and negotiations are literally subordinate to missiles and bombers there, for it is a fact that new strategic arms programs are being forced through Congress by the same people who are conducting the talks in Geneva on behalf of the United States. . . .

I have singled out the factors that are primarily complicating Soviet-American relations and at times bring them to the verge of acute tension. But it appears that some people in the United States regard this situation as normal, considering confrontation to be a natural condition. We do not consider this to be the case. Confrontation is not an inborn defect in our relations. Rather, it is an anomaly. There is nothing inevitable about its continuation. We regard the improvement of Soviet-American relations as not only extremely necessary but possible. Of course, it is impossible to manage without reciprocity. (Interview with the editor of Pravda, Kommunist, signed to press 12 Apr 85)

Andrey Gromyko, foreign minister

- The conversation with President Ronald Reagan, during which the foundations of the Soviet Union's and United States' policies were set out on both sides, does not, unfortunately, make it possible to draw a conclusion about practical positive changes in the U.S. foreign policy course. It is not observed that the U.S. Administration is ready to take a realistic stand on the substance of the acute problems of war and peace, without whose mutually acceptable solution a turn for the better is impossible in either Soviet-U.S. relations or in the international situation. (Press statement in Washington, Pravda, 30 Sep 84)

- Soviet-American relations have undergone serious disruption as a result of the policy of the present U.S. Administration. . . . The American leadership is making a great mistake in believing that a line of this kind will benefit the United States in any way. . . .

C-2

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The aspiration of the United States to interfere in the affairs of other countries, to impose by rude force its orders on the peoples disorganizes international relations and leads to a dangerous aggravation of existing tensions and the emergence of new seats of tension in the world. (Report on meeting with Secretary Shultz, Pravda, 26 Sep 84)

Konstantin Chernenko, CPSU general secretary

- Washington is flaunting its great-power ambitions and exaggerated notions of America's role and place in the modern world with cynical frankness. It lays claim to being stronger than anyone else, to rule the destinies of peoples, and to dictate its will to all everywhere and anywhere. In a word, it is now a question of a "crusade" not only against socialism, but, in fact, the whole world. (Pravda interview, Pravda, 2 Sep 84)

Grigoriy Romanov, Politburo member

- Washington's reaction to these and other Soviet initiatives is invariably negative. The Republican Party's election platform reveals with cynical frankness the Reagan Administration's imperialist goals. Is there any worth in the peacemaking rhetoric constantly emanating from Washington? Only naive people can believe it, and we are not among them! (Speech to Ethiopian Workers Party Congress, Pravda, 9 Sep 84)

C-3

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